

Message Text

SECRET

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SUBJECT: DEPUTY MINISTER SEMENOV'S STATEMENT OF MARCH 7, 1975

SALT TWO-550.

THE FOLLOWING IS STATEMENT DELIVERED BY DEPUTY MINISTER
SEMENOV AT THE SALT TWO MEETING OF MARCH 7, 1975.

QUOTE

INCORPORATION IN THE TEXT OF THE NEW AGREEMENT ON
THE LIMITATION OF STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS FOR THE PERIOD
UNTIL THE END OF 1985, OF THE UNDERSTANDING THAT THE SIDES
HAVE THE RIGHT TO MODERNIZATION AND REPLACEMENT OF STRATEGIC
OFFENSIVE ARMS, IS CALLED UPON TO PLAY AN IMPORTANT ROLE
IN ENSURING THE VIABILITY OF THAT AGREEMENT.

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THE ISSUE OF MODERNIZATION AND REPLACEMENT OF STRATEGIC ARMS IS NOT NEW AT OUR NEGOTIATIONS. MODERNIZATION AND REPLACEMENT ARE AN OBJECTIVE PROCESS, INVOLVED IN THE NORMAL OPERATION OF THE ARMS BEING LIMITED, AS WELL AS IN THE PROCESS OF IMPROVING THESE ARMS, WHICH IS INHERENT TO THEM. THIS OBJECTIVE LINK BETWEEN THE PHENOMENA IN THIS FIELD CANNOT BUT BE TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT WHEN CONSIDERING THE QUESTIONS INVOLVED IN STRATEGIC ARMS LIMITATION.

IN THE COURSE OF THE ONGOING NEGOTIATIONS THE SIDES HAVE ALREADY ADDRESSED THIS ISSUE MORE THAN ONCE. A COMMON UNDERSTANDING HAS BEEN WORKED OUT AND REPEATEDLY RECORDED IN THE JOINT SOVIET-AMERICAN DOCUMENTS ADOPTED BY OUR STATES, TO THE EFFECT THAT THE STRATEGIC ARMS LIMITATION MEASURES BEING TAKEN BY THE SIDES MUST OF NECESSITY TAKE DUE ACCOUNT OF THE ACTUAL NEED FOR MODERNIZATION AND REPLACEMENT OF THESE ARMS WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE LIMITATIONS BEING ADOPTED.

THE SIDES HAVE ACCUMULATED GREAT PRACTICAL EXPERIENCE WITH REGARD TO THE QUESTIONS RELATED TO MODERNIZATION AND REPLACEMENT OF STRATEGIC ARMS, IN TERMS OF WORKING OUT MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE SOLUTIONS OF PRINCIPLE AND AGREEING ON APPROPRIATE LANGUAGE FOR THE PROVISION OF THE AGREEMENTS IN FORCE, AS WELL AS IN TERMS OF COMPLIANCE BY THE SIDES WITH OBLIGATIONS UNDER THESE AGREEMENTS. AS YOU KNOW, APPROPRIATE PROVISIONS HAVE BEEN INCLUDED IN THE TREATY ON THE LIMITATION OF ABM SYSTEMS, WHICH IS OF UNLIMITED DURATION, AS WELL AS IN THE INTERIM AGREEMENT OF MAY 26, 1972. IT IS RECORDED IN ARTICLE IV OF THE INTERIM AGREEMENT IN FORCE THAT, SUBJECT TO THE PROVISIONS OF THAT AGREEMENT, MODERNIZATION AND REPLACEMENT OF STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE BALLISTIC MISSILES AND LAUNCHERS, COVERED BY THE INTERIM AGREEMENT, MAY BE UNDERTAKEN.

THE QUESTION OF MODERNIZATION AND REPLACEMENT OF STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS HAS BEEN CONSIDERED BY THE SIDES ALSO AS IT APPLIES TO THE TASK OF WORKING OUT THE NEW AGREEMENT FOR THE PERIOD UNTIL THE END OF 1985. THE UNDERSTANDING REACHED ON THIS SCORE IS REFLECTED IN
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PARAGRAPH 4 OF THE AIDE-MEMOIRE OF DECEMBER 10, 1974, WHICH SPECIFICALLY STATES THAT MODERNIZATION AND REPLACEMENT OF STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMAMENTS, COVERED BY THE NEW AGREEMENT, MAY BE UNDERTAKEN. THIS UNDERSTANDING IS EMBODIED IN ARTICLE X OF THE SOVIET DRAFT AGREEMENT OF FEBRUARY 1, 1975, WHICH STATES THAT SUBJECT TO THE PROVISIONS OF THIS AGREEMENT, MODERNIZATION AND REPLACEMENT OF STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS MAY BE UNDERTAKEN. THE

WORDING OF ARTICLE X THUS CLEARLY REFLECTS THE PRECEDENTS OF THE RELEVANT PROVISIONS OF THE AGREEMENTS IN FORCE, AS WELL AS THE APPROACH OF PRINCIPLE OF BOTH SIDES TO THIS ASPECT OF THE PROBLEM OF LIMITING STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS, OF LINKING THIS PROVISION WITH THE OTHER PROVISIONS OF THE DRAFT OF THE NEW AGREEMENT.

THE DIRECTIVE CONTAINED IN THE WORDING UNDER CONSIDERATION, THAT THIS PROVISION MUST BE CARRIED OUT SUBJECT TO THE OTHER PROVISIONS OF THE AGREEMENT, REFLECTS THE EXISTING UNDERSTANDING THAT MODERNIZATION AND REPLACEMENT OF STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS WILL BE CARRIED OUT SUBJECT TO THE PROVISIONS OF ARTICLE I AND II OF THE INTERIM AGREEMENT, WHICH MUST BE CARRIED OVER INTO THE NEW AGREEMENT FOR THE PERIOD UNTIL THE END OF 1985. APPROPRIATE PROVISIONS, WHICH ARE STRICTLY IN ACCORD WITH THIS UNDERSTANDING, HAVE BEEN REPRODUCED IN ARTICLE III, PARAGRAPH 2, AND ARTICLE IV OF THE SOVIET DRAFT.

CARRYING OVER THE AFOREMENTIONED ARTICLES INTO THE NEW AGREEMENT RESULTS IN RETAINING THE CLEAR UNDERSTANDING REACHED BETWEEN THE SIDES, WHICH HAS BEEN SEALED IN THE AIDE-MEMOIRE OF DECEMBER 10, 1974, THAT IN THE PROCESS OF MODERNIZATION AND REPLACEMENT THE DIMENSIONS OF LAND-BASED ICBM SILO LAUNCHERS WILL NOT BE INCREASED BY MORE THAN 10-15 PERCENT. AS NOTED BY THE USSR DELEGATION AT THE FEBRUARY 18 MEETING, SUCH AN UNDERSTANDING SHOULD BE RECORDED IN THE FORM OF AN AGREED STATEMENT OF THE SIDES.

OF COURSE, THE PROVISION ON MODERNIZATION AND REPLACEMENT OF STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS MUST BE CARRIED OUT BY THE SIDES IN ACCORDANCE WITH ALL OF THE OTHER PROVISIONS OF THE DRAFT AGREEMENT AS WELL, ABOVE ALL IN COMPLIANCE
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WITH THE LIMITATIONS ON THE AGGREGATE NUMBER OF NUCLEAR WEAPON DELIVERY VEHICLES, THE AGGREGATE NUMBER OF SLBM LAUNCHERS AND LAND-BASED ICBM LAUNCHERS, WITH MISSILES EQUIPPED WITH MIRVS, AND ALSO IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE PROVISIONS CONCERNING THE RIGHT OF THE SIDES TO DETERMINE FOR THEMSELVES THE COMPOSITION OF STRATEGIC WEAPON DELIVERY VEHICLES AS WELL AS THE TYPES AND NUMBERS OF ICBM AND SLBM LAUNCHERS CONTAINING MISSILES EQUIPPED WITH MIRVS.

NATURALLY, THE PROVISION ON MODERNIZATION AND REPLACEMENT OF STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS APPLIES TO THE WHOLE ASSORTMENT OF ARMS COVERED BY THE AGREEMENT, I.E., TO LAND-BASED ICBMS, TO SLBMS AND THEIR LAUNCHERS, TO HEAVY BOMBERS AS WELL AS TO AIR-TO-SURFACE MISSILES OF ANY TYPE

WITH A RANGE OF MORE THAN 600 KILOMETERS WHEN SUCH MISSILES ARE INSTALLED ON BOMBERS. IT ALSO FULLY APPLIES TO SLBMS AND LAND-BASED ICBMS, WITH MISSILES EQUIPPED WITH MIRVS, AND TO THEIR LAUNCHERS. IT WOULD NOT BE IN LINE WITH THE TASKS OF THE ONGOING NEGOTIATIONS TO ADVANCE COMPLICATING PROPOSALS WHICH WOULD DIRECTLY OR INDIRECTLY LEAD TO PLACING ADDITIONAL LIMITATIONS ON MODERNIZATION AND REPLACEMENT OF STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS, OR SOME PORTION OF SUCH ARMS, OVER AND ABOVE THE LIMITATIONS ALREADY AGREED UPON AT THE HIGHEST LEVEL. THE USSR DELEGATION HAS ARGUED THIS QUESTION ON FEBRUARY 26, 1975, AND WE PROCEED FROM THE PREMISE THAT THE CONSIDERATIONS EXPRESSED BY THE SOVIET SIDE ARE IN THE FIELD OF VISION OF THE U.S. SIDE.

SUCCESSFUL IMPLEMENTATION OF THE TASK PLACED BEFORE THE DELEGATIONS, TO WORK OUT A MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE TEXT FOR AN AGREEMENT FOR THE PERIOD UNTIL THE END OF 1985, IS SERVED BY ACCURATELY EMBODYING IN THE DRAFT AGREEMENT THE EXISTING UNDERSTANDING ON THE MAIN FUNDAMENTAL PROVISIONS OF THE NEW AGREEMENT, INCLUDING THE PROVISION REGARDING THE RIGHT OF THE SIDES TO MODERNIZATION AND REPLACEMENT OF STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS DURING ITS TERM.

UNQUOTE
JOHNSON

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